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ABSTRACT

This study was concerned with the needs and pressures of black students in a range of 13 predominantly white, both public and private, institutions of postsecondary education in North Carolina. Specifically, the study addressed itself to the initial experiences of these students as well as to their subsequent adjustment to the institutional environment. Findings from in-depth interviews with black students include: (1) The relative proportion of black students of college age attending traditionally white institutions of higher education falls far below the corresponding proportion of white students in spite of vigorous recruiting efforts reported by these institutions. (2) Black students enrolled in white institutions appear to be attracted by such features as propinquity, low cost and/or financial aid, availability of a particular program of interest, and a conviction of quality of program. (3) Few blacks in white institutions reported any effective assistance or encouragement from guidance counselors. (4) Some black students who choose white 4-year institutions seem to perceive them as being higher in quality, or their degrees as having greater market value than do degrees from the traditionally black institutions. (HS)

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College Entrance Examination Board Research Report 2

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BLACK STUDENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Research Report **2**

Junius A. Davis
Anne Borders-Patterson

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Preface

Among the several crises of higher education in the late 1960s, probably none was more unsettling than the discovery that colleges and universities were as racially segregated as any part of American society. This was devastating as well as ironic, for the campuses were a principal source of liberal and radical comment and had even been the originating point and supplier of both troops and materiel for the "Freedom Rides" to Mississippi and elsewhere that were common in the early part of the decade.

It is not entirely clear why the extent of racial segregation in higher education was not recognized earlier. Perhaps it was because attendance at college was regarded as a special privilege not normally available to most Americans until social and economic expansion after World War II suddenly made going to college commonplace. Perhaps the absence of good social statistics—especially statistics concerning race—kept most academic communities unaware that the lack of a black presence on their own campus was true of all campuses. Perhaps the presence (by 1950) of 100,000 or so students in the "predominantly Negro" colleges made their absence from other campuses less remarkable.

In any event, awareness came to, or was thrust upon, white colleges and universities. 1968 was the critical year.

Today it is still true that the enrollment of black students in higher education is not as great as it should be. It is also true that the high tension that surrounded the issue of recruitment and enrollment after 1968 has relaxed somewhat after some real gains were made and in the face of a competing crisis concerning financial survival for many institutions.

But it was also discovered that simply enrolling black students where few had been before was only the beginning of a profound and fundamental adjustment that had to be made on campuses. The full dimensions of that adjustment are probably not yet known, but it goes much beyond admissions or even curriculum. And the changes are painful, as changes tend to be.

This report is one of the first large studies of what has happened in colleges and universities as black students began to enroll in considerable numbers for the first time. It was commissioned by the North Carolina Board of Higher Education, supported by the College Board, and directed by members of the research staff of Educational Testing Service.

Strictly speaking, the findings here are for one state at one point in time. But we

suspect that the experience in North Carolina will be found to hold for many other places that have just now begun to attempt to change. By chance, this report is being issued just after the appearance of *Black Students at White Colleges* (Charles V. Willie and Arline F. McCord, New York: Praeger, 1972), a study of colleges in New York State with findings entirely compatible with those reported here.

We believe that this report and the book by Willie and McCord can be studied with considerable profit by administrators, faculty, and even by students on campuses that are sharing the experience of these institutions. The College Board is pleased to have been able to participate in this study with the North Carolina Board of Higher Education and Educational Testing Service.

S. A. Kendrick
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College Entrance Examination Board

Abstract

This study, a phase of the ongoing research by the North Carolina Board of Higher Education to examine avenues of and barriers to access to higher education in North Carolina, was concerned with the needs and presses of black students in a range of 13 traditionally and predominantly white, both public and private, institutions of postsecondary education. Specifically, the study addressed itself to the initial experiences of these students as well as to their subsequent adjustment to the institutional environment.

In-depth interviews by trained peers were used to assess institutional and personal factors that contribute to choices, perceptions, and adjustments of black students both in the area of effective academic work and in extracurricular life. Six major findings emerged from the data.

(1) The relative proportion of black students of college age attending traditionally white institutions of higher education falls far below the corresponding proportion of white students in spite of vigorous recruiting efforts reported by these institutions. Slight gains in enrolling black students in traditionally white institutions have been experienced, but traditionally black colleges have been almost completely unable to attract white students of the usual age ranges for regular study.

(2) Black students enrolled in white institutions appear to be attracted by such features as propinquity, low cost and/or financial aid, availability of a particular program of interest with definite vocational or professional role implications, and a conviction of quality of program together with a personal history of successful performance in secondary school.

(3) Few blacks in white institutions reported any effective assistance or encouragement from guidance counselors; instead, there were many evidences that both black and white guidance counselors were so uncertain about how to advise a black student considering a white institution that they avoided students seeking assistance. Rather, high school teachers, particularly those who teach English or mathematics, seem frequently to have been instrumental in encouraging the black student to attend a traditionally white institution.

(4) Marked differences were found between the reasons for choices, campus perceptions, and satisfactory adjustment to college of blacks attending four-year (resident) white institutions and those attending two-year (non-resident) institutions.

(5) Some black students who choose white four-year institutions seem to perceive them as being higher in quality, or their degrees as having greater market value than do degrees from the traditionally black institutions.

(6) Black students on white residential campuses seem to become increasingly polarized, to become more aware of their black identity, and, in many cases, to grow more hostile toward the "white establishment" as their college years progress. This seems to result from a variety of problems: difficulties in achieving a satisfactory social life; great diversity in values and in accepted behavior among socioeconomic classes; absence of black leadership of the whole student body (although the black student groups themselves provided some); the almost complete absence of black faculty members and guidance counselors; and great sensitivity to rebuffs, that were usually attributed to racial prejudice. Noticeably infrequent were expressions of problems of a specifically academic nature.

A judicious interpretation of these findings at this time must take into consideration the fact that change is occurring very rapidly in some areas. For example, black students who are entering predominantly white institutions today have usually had additional experiences in desegregated primary and secondary school situations. Moreover, the study coincided with the high point of the national movement toward black identity and black pride. Finally, the institutions themselves have had additional time in which to find ways to deal creatively with difficulties experienced by blacks entering the hallowed halls which were for so long "lily white."

Introduction

Political and legal forces are pressing for the demise of the racially dual system of higher education as it has existed throughout the country for many years. North Carolina's traditionally white and traditionally black colleges and universities, some of them under formal compliance requests from the Office of Civil Rights, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, appear to be moving with vigor to integrate their student bodies; a tentative plan for desegregation of public higher education has been developed and discussed with HEW officials, and many points of agreement have been reached informally.

The amount of effort expended by the various institutions in order to attract students of differing racial origin varies, of course, yet conversations with admissions officers suggest that it has frequently been extensive. At one of our traditionally white public liberal arts universities that has enrolled black students for 15 years, a black recruiter has been added to the admissions office staff and more than three-fourths of that office's travel budget for recruitment was reported to have been used for seeking black applicants in a recent year. Two visits were made to each high school in the state that had a predominantly black student body; a student group, funded in various ways, brought "disadvantaged" students to the campus in the summer. Also, a prestigious private university in North Carolina assigned approximately seven times as much of its financial aid resources to black students as it did to white students, and this on a per-student basis. A small private church-related college used its black students to interview prospective black applicants, conducting nearly 900 interviews in one recruiting season – a sum that was greater than half that college's total student enrollment. A traditionally black college has begun an extensive campaign to include white townspeople in its general cultural events.

However, efforts such as these should be evaluated by the results they produce, rather than by their extent and cost. For example, in the case of the public university just referred to, the vigorous recruiting efforts – directed at a high school senior population in North Carolina of some 20,000 blacks – produced about 250 completed applications but only 131 enrollees. This was less than 3 percent of that institution's total number of entering freshmen. At the private university, the admissions officer stated that inadequate financial aid resources are a major factor in keeping the proportion of black students down to less than 4 percent. And the budget officer at the small private institution estimated that approximately

72 hard-sell interviews were needed to produce one enrolled black student. The white students of the traditionally black college, less than 1 percent of the student body, were found to be faculty spouses for the most part.

Data compiled by the Office of Civil Rights on the racial characteristics of enrolled undergraduates indicate that progress has indeed been slow. For example, in North Carolina's ten traditionally white public universities only 1.6 percent of the undergraduate enrollment in 1968 (the most recent published survey prior to this study) was non-white; private white universities and colleges in North Carolina that year show even lower proportions of non-whites. Whites in the traditionally black institutions of North Carolina in 1968 represented 0.6 percent and 0.1 percent of the undergraduate enrollment in public and private institutions respectively. Local surveys in the current year (as did the first reports of the 1970 national survey of the Office of Civil Rights) show some improvement but no dramatic changes, either by a single institution or by any group of institutions.

Another and more realistic way of looking at the problem is to consider the black-white ratio of students in North Carolina who enter university training beyond high school, and those who actually graduate from a four-year program. Although good data on which to calculate the current proportion of black students in the age group entering a senior college are not available, it probably does not exceed 15 percent, while for whites the proportion is approximately 40 percent. While approximately 50 percent of the white university students graduate on time, we believe that only about 33 percent of the black students entering four-year institutions do so. Therefore, it seems that neither freedom of choice of college (in comparison with the principle of assignment as in public elementary and secondary education) nor vigorous efforts by the institutions, nor federal pressures have to any significant degree removed the historical pattern of segregation in the institutions of higher education of North Carolina.

Origin of the Study

Toward the end of the 1960s, black students at a number of institutions began to demand the elimination of the admissions test requirement for black applicants because they believed such tests contained "a white middle-class bias," and were therefore inappropriate for blacks. The Southeastern Office of Educational Testing Service in Durham was asked by the North Carolina Board of Higher Education to conduct a formal audit of the validity of the required Scholastic Aptitude Test for blacks versus whites in the public universities of North Carolina.[1]

To help to formulate the study, to review its findings, and to make appropriate recommendations, a technical advisory committee of representatives from the state's universities[2] was established and convened in Raleigh by the Board of

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[1] Junius A. Davis and Susan Kerner-Hoeg, *Validity of Pre-Admissions Indices for Blacks and Whites in Six Traditionally White Public Universities in North Carolina*. Educational Testing Service Project Report 71-15. Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, Sept., 1971. Also Junius A. Davis and Susan E. Kerner, *The Validity of Tests and Achievement in High School for Predicting Initial Performance in the Public Universities of North Carolina With Special Attention to Black Students*. Educational Testing Service Project Report 71-3. Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, March, 1971.

[2] The current members of this committee are identified in Appendix A.

Higher Education in 1969. Although this committee agreed that the validity of admissions procedures for black students in the separate institutions should be established and reviewed for the record, its members were unanimously convinced that the more significant problems for research ran more deeply and in different directions. First was the matter of improving access to the system of higher education, with particular concern for minority groups who may be restricted from aspiring, applying, and entering by social, economic, and personal forces (more than by institutional barriers such as admissions procedures). Second was the matter of facilitating the learning and personal development of these new students.

Although, as noted, there appeared to be relatively few black students in traditionally white institutions and even fewer white students in traditionally black institutions, it was felt that this vanguard could yield, if suitably approached, the answers to some important questions. For example, what kinds of students apply to, succeed in getting admitted to, and do attend an institution traditionally serving a racial group different from their own? What aspects of the new environment seem to attract them? What prompts these students to apply and to persevere in their applications? What kinds of experiences or present attitudes facilitate this choice of college? What is the impact of guidance and of financial aid? How accurate is the information these students have about higher education? What attitudes and expectancies do these students bring with them to college, and how realistic or facilitating are they?

Then, and of greater importance: once enrolled, how do these students fare? In what aspects of college life and work do problems develop, and what personal or institutional resources are involved, and which of these are effective in easing the problems? How do the attitudes and expectancies held prior to enrollment change? What are the implications for more effective educational treatment in the future of black and other minority students that can be learned from these students' experiences, perceptions, and recommendations?

Procedures and Techniques

The basic data-gathering technique was a relatively open-ended but structured interview. Interviews were conducted with samples of freshmen in the racial minority on about 20 campuses, with upper-class students of the same race and institution as the respondents serving as interviewers.

An interview guide was prepared first. To review its working draft, to advise, and to study content and general strategies, a student advisory committee was established that included black upperclassmen from a variety of colleges and universities.[3] These students were selected by asking institutional representatives (usually the academic dean, dean of students, or institutional researcher) to name a student, of whatever black/white philosophy, who had distinguished himself on that campus for thoughtful and intensive concern about the issues of particular interest to black students, and who could communicate this concern effectively to others.

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[3] Students serving on this committee are named in Appendix B.

The student advisory committee was first convened in the ETS office in Durham on March 19, 1970, for a day's discussion among its members and with black professional staff and consultants. The purposes of the inquiry were explained, and the tentative draft of the interview guide was discussed. This meeting (which was electronically recorded) was essentially a sharing of personal experiences in answer to questions posed by the interview guide. The students reacted with enthusiasm and interest, and recommended that the study proceed. The presidents of 14 traditionally white institutions[4] representing the variety found in North Carolina—from selective private university to public technical institute—were informed about the purposes of the study in a letter from the director of the Board of Higher Education, and invited to participate and name a faculty member or administrator as an institutional representative. Thirteen of the institutions contacted immediately agreed to participate; institutional representatives were asked to nominate one or more black upperclassmen who would seem to be acceptable to other black students and who would be interested in assisting with the study. The students nominated were invited, at project expense, to a one-day briefing session with project staff and consultants on April 18, 1970, for the purpose of: enlisting their cooperation; obtaining further advice about the design and content of the inquiry; brief training in interviewing; and procedural instructions. After debate, sometimes spirited, the individuals agreed to assist in the study.

Interview forms[5] were distributed; students were asked to get a cross section of up to 20 black freshmen (no attempt at random sampling was made, but in most cases all or nearly all of the black freshmen on each campus were involved). The first two interview reports returned by each interviewer were checked carefully by several project staff, and long individual discussions were held by telephone regarding any problems noted in the reports. By the last week of May, about 160 usable interview reports had been received.

The interviewers were again convened for a full day meeting, this time with the original student advisory committee, on May 16, 1970. The purpose of this meeting was to check on initial understanding of the data by the project staff, and to permit each interviewer to add anything further to what he had already reported. This conference was also electronically recorded.

The data masses—interview reports, and typescripts of student advisory committee and interviewers' final-report meeting—were studied carefully by the authors of this paper and other project staff. Some tallies of frequently occurring themes or characteristic reactions were made, but the major attempt was simply to determine the predominant flavors of the material. The comments that follow in the next section are what the project group immersed in the data believe to be the essential content of the answers given to the interviewers' questions, and comments of the interviewers and the student advisory committee.

Before examining these speculations, brief mention should be made of another procedure that was planned but could not be implemented. This was to conduct

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[4] The institutions participating in the study are identified in Appendix C.

[5] A sample of the interview guide that was used is given in Appendix D.

similar interviews with white freshmen enrolled in traditionally black institutions. Early in the planning and data-collection phase, it became apparent there were few white freshmen of the typical beginning college age who were enrolled in traditionally black institutions. Accordingly, one white student was appointed to seek out and interview white freshmen at black institutions wherever they could be found. Admissions officers in most of the black institutions in the state were contacted, and the white student dispatched where there was a white freshman (other than neighborhood adult or a faculty spouse). Only five such students were found: two athletes, a Puerto Rican, a young man who refused to talk to the interviewer, and a student from a midwestern state who did not at first realize that the private university he had chosen was black. Accordingly, the findings deal only with reports of black students on predominantly white campuses.

Interviews were held with 164 black freshmen. Of these, 55 were in two-year institutions, and 109 in four-year institutions; 79 were male and 85 were female. The students in the two-year programs tended to be slightly older than those in four-year institutions, but about 95 percent of all interviewees were in the 18–20 year age range.

For purposes of continuity, the findings are presented below under three logically separate subcategories. These have to do with the black student at the point of entry into college; the black student after experience at the four-year institution; and the black student after experience at the two-year institution.

The Black Student

At the Point of Entry

Of the two basic questions asked the black freshmen, the first was related to how they happened to apply to and then to enroll in their (traditionally and predominantly white) institution. Within this overall topic area, students were asked what attracted them, what their application experiences had been, to what other institutions they had applied, what the reactions of family and friends to their decision were, and questions relating to their high school experiences.

With regard to reasons for choice of college, widely varying responses were obtained, with a clear division between those from students attending two-year (public) and four-year (public and private) institutions discernible. From black students attending two-year institutions free response answers to "Why this institution?" were most frequently related to: living in the immediate proximity of the institution; the relatively low cost; and the availability of a desired academic or technical program. Black students in four-year institutions similarly expressed restrictions of geographic mobility and specific academic programs as reasons for their choices. On the other hand, they had obviously "shopped around" and reported such reasons as "good (general) academic program," "reputation of the school," and "the availability of a good scholarship (or financial aid)" as influential in determining their choices. This last reason, in fact, was mentioned most frequently, and its importance in the decision-making process was further emphasized in the group discussions with upperclassmen.

Desire to study in an integrated institution was mentioned by about one-eighth of the respondents in four-year institutions (none of the students from two-year institutions gave this as a reason). The predominant rationale for this preference was simply to learn more about whites. Some students cited reasons such as "to get a better education in a mainly white college" and "better chances for job and salary" as considerations in their choice. This may be evidence of the residue of a long-standing "white is right" philosophy, or it may suggest (as one student put it) a recognition of the "credentialization and certification world" in which we live. Comments in this vein seemed to support both suggestions. One student stated, "I want to be an engineer, and I'll be competing with whites; I want to be ready for that." Another said, "If I want to be a good chemist, and if we want to talk about some goals for young black people—do I strive to become the best chemist possible, which automatically means I'm going to a white school, or do I take a chance on learning more about black culture, and attend a black school?"

Some of the reasons frequently given by white students for their choice of an institution were notably and understandably absent from the data. For example: a parent or relative was an alumnus, or a close friend attended or had chosen the college.

The data do not permit any safe generalizations about the impact, on choice or aspiration, of prior experience in desegregated vs segregated high schools. Of the black students in four-year colleges and universities, a little more than half came from schools that had at least token desegregation. However, it was clear that few of the respondents had experienced what seemed to them to be a close or personal relationship with white individuals or groups, and that few, if any, had been involved in racial disturbances in their schools. However, some students reported having had high hopes, at the time of their choice of college, that in moving to the university setting they would be less likely to experience racism and discrimination.

When asked about the influence of guidance counselors, students saw them not only as lacking in influence, but frequently also as obstacles—and this regardless of whether the counselor was a black or white person. One student said: "I never had any contact with (the counselors)—they only had time for whitey." Another said: "(Guidance was) pretty lousy—always tried to steer black students toward black institutions." Even more frequently, the counselor's concern was seen as "geared more toward the exceptional student." "The counselor never showed any interest or talked to *me* about the future. When I went to her office she always said 'I'm busy, come back later.'" There were exceptions to the prevailing opinion, for example: "(Guidance counselors) told how many opportunities are available to blacks, particularly if you are qualified"; "(She) gave encouragement—gave examples of change in today's world." Although guidance counselors were seldom named as influential in the students' choice of college, teachers—particularly those in English and mathematics—were frequently cited as having been so.

Noted frequently was a prevailing notion that screening barriers existed within the high schools. One student said: "The overall feeling was that you had to be the

best prepared academically and the least radically inclined." Another said: "At our school, they feel that only the best black should go to the white college." This attitude is further supported by other studies showing that most blacks in predominantly white senior institutions had achieved exemplary high school records, whatever their admissions test scores had been.

In addition to the free responses given by the students regarding their reasons for choosing the predominantly white institution, one part of the interview[6] presented a list of potential reasons for choice. The responses of the interviewees are given in Table 1.

For the four-year institutions, the data in Table 1 confirm some of the previous interpretations. Certain discrepancies are, however, noteworthy. Among the more popular reasons for choice of white institutions (see Table 1) are the beliefs that one will have a better chance for a good job and salary, and that the quality of education will be higher. These points were mentioned considerably less fre-

TABLE 1 *Reactions of Black Freshmen in White Institutions to Selected Reasons for Particular College Choice*

Reason	Students in four-year institutions (N = 109)			Students in two-year institutions (N = 55)			Level of significance of difference*
	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	
"Get better education in white college"	67%	23%	10%	32%	58%	10%	.001
"College close to home"	74	20	6	91	9		NS
"Low cost of education here"	42	56	2	93	7		.001
"Good scholarship or aid offer"	64	35	1	70	22	8	NS
"Visited campus and liked it"	41	57	2	76	23	1	.001
"Had the program I wanted"	72	17	10	96	4		.05
"Made to feel wanted by the college"	36	53	11	86	10	4	.001
"Recruited by an athletic coach"	14	86		5	95		NS
"Interested in athletic program"	27	72	1	36	60	4	NS
"Better chance for good job, salary"	76	19	5	76	13	11	NS
"Chance to speak more forcefully as a black"	42	44	14	49	40	11	NS
"Heard good report from friends here"	44	54	2	67	31	2	.01
"Parents wanted me to come here"	47	48	5	83	17		.001
"Others in family have come here"	12	88		22	78		NS
"Close friend also planning to come here"	31	69		65	33	2	.001
"Was actively recruited by the college"	19	75	6	37	63		NS
"Someone (not parent or friend) recommends"	55	44	1	62	38		NS
"Size of school"	58	25	6	57	31	9	NS

* Figures given indicate the probability, from applying Chi-Square tests of significance, that the differences in proportions for four- vs two-year college students are the result of chance.

[6] See Appendix D.

quently in the free responses, where attention was not directed to these potential reasons. The availability of a particular program appeared also as an attractive feature. Students in the two-year colleges much less frequently saw white college and quality as synonymous, though they stated with equal frequency that an important reason for continuing their education was the later advantage on the job market.

Data in Table 1 also reveal that two-year college students report they were attracted, as were four-year college students, by considerations of low cost, nearness to home, better competitive advantage on the job market. But about twice as many two-year college students as four-year college students cite as instrumental the fact that they were actively recruited, parental encouragement, good report from friends, friends also attending (or planning to attend). More two-year college students, of course, had also "visited the campus and liked it," but most significant of all is probably the fact that almost 9 out of 10 two-year college students reported they had been made to feel wanted by the college, against a proportion of only one out of three of the black students at the four-year institutions.

The absence of difference in "good scholarship or aid offer" is of interest with regard to senior institution capabilities and interests; the fact that about two out of three students in the two-year institutions noted this as a reason for attendance probably means they counted work opportunities as aid. Also of interest is the absence of difference in interest in athletics, or athletic recruitment as factors in decision to attend the college of choice.

Thus, in summary, the black students seemed at the point of college entry to be reasonably confident and unapprehensive, to be excited about their eventual opportunity to get a good job, and to be open minded to the prospect of a pleasant new experience. Academically, they had experienced success in high school, recognition by their teachers, and status with their peers. Almost two-thirds had also applied to black institutions and had been accepted.

After Experience at the Four-Year Institution

The differences already noted between the black students in two-year vs those in the four-year institutions, though major, seem almost inconsequential in comparison with the differences noted in their respective reactions and adjustments to college. Consequently, the two groups will be considered separately.

The personal interviews with freshmen toward the end of the first year and the group discussions with sophomores, juniors, and seniors assisting in the inquiry yield one major, significant, and undeniable finding: *experience in the white senior college or university in most cases (there are some significant exceptions) seems to lead the student toward an increasing consciousness of his blackness, toward an identity not with all people but with black people.* One student, asked how he had changed since coming to college, put it simply: "I've become bitterer and blacker." It should be noted, however, that this study took place at the height of the movement toward black pride and black identity. With this qualification in mind, what additional reported experiences could be responsible for this polarization?

Some comments indicated that a part of the "becoming blacker" phenomenon is the simple fact that blacks are an identifiable minority in the student bodies. While the fact of being an identifiable minority within American society is not new to these students, it is likely that in many cases the paucity of their numbers within both the academic and social sphere of this new environment sharpened previous perceptions. One student said: "I want to show myself as a Negro more—we are so few." Another said: "It's nice to be around someone of your own race—I don't know what I'd do if I was the only black at this university."

Many students stated in varying ways that their new experience with whites in college had helped them to identify unique aspects of their own cultural heritage that may not have come so clearly into focus had they gone to an all black institution.

A major problem in its own right—and a factor that probably contributed to the polarization—was the limited range of heterosexual social opportunity experienced by most blacks. On most campuses, the students reported unusual efforts among themselves to have their own place for informal social activities. The number of black students of the opposite sex, representing a pool for choice in dating, was generally most restricted. The students expressed great frustration at having to go off campus to make the broader friendships that white students found to be a natural on-campus benefit. Students see college not only as a period of preparation for adult work but also as one where heterosexual activities are crucial to personal growth and satisfaction. On the campuses, social life and institutionally organized or sanctioned events are conspicuously white. Black students mentioned such things as "the big dance" and fraternity parties. One popular athlete placed the critical point of self-questioning at a party weekend: "I wanted to go with my (white) friends, but I couldn't get a date—and suddenly I found myself asking, 'What will they think if I try to dance with their white chicks?' Then I thought: 'Will they be insulted if I don't?' " This was, he indicated, not a casual musing, but a question critical to his attendance.

Another observation was that many of the black students had had specific experiences in which they perceived racial prejudice directed toward themselves. One black, a valedictorian in a white high school with token desegregation, came to the campus for the first time two days early to get acquainted with his new environment. He reported a late evening stroll the first evening, and confrontation by a carload of whites of student age who stopped and yelled: "Hey, Nigger, what are you doing here?" Suddenly, he reported, the campus didn't seem as safe, and he ran to his room and remained there until registration. Although he reported he felt better later, the event was traumatic and had placed him on guard. Another black student was convinced that indignities he experienced—which could also be interpreted as freshman hazing—were unfriendly attacks because of his color. At the very least, the black students frequently seemed to appear particularly sensitive to any rebuff in general in give-and-take with white students; at most, there were genuine slanders that called attention to prejudice where it had been least expected. In any event, racial prejudice was perceived, and this perception—whether or not it was based on fact—is reflected in subsequent attitudes and be-

liefs, with resulting alienation from students in general and refuge taken among the more separatist black upperclassmen. One thoughtful student observed: "They (white students) are half-way prejudiced . . . just getting so they can partially conceal it." Another, strangely but plaintively enough, said: "The white students here are friendly to me only because I'm black."

The data seem to suggest that some of the problems black students experience actually derive from discrepancies in socioeconomic status; they are rooted in differences of background and experience between the members of the white and black on-campus subcultures (e.g., many more of the black students may have held and needed to hold jobs; values and interpersonal styles are known to vary as a function of socioeconomic background). One student expressed his reaction this way: "The white students here are a bunch of pampered, prejudiced punks." An impartial observer can see that students of a lower socioeconomic group might well view the majority culture of peers in many colleges as being made up of pantywaists. Another black freshman said: "I've become cold, hard, cruel, calculating, prejudiced, unfeeling, (obscenity meaning blatantly deceptive); *I have to be just like the whites in order to survive here.*" A third observed: "To come to (name of university) for a white man means a continuation of the fantasy *they* call life; but to a black coming here, it is an awakening to the deficiencies of our society and to the great necessity for change."

No groundswell of feeling of oppression by academic demands or unusual concern about academic performance could be detected, in spite of the fact that most black students in traditionally white institutions of higher education have been thought to have somewhat lower academic averages and higher attrition rates than their white student counterparts. Most seem to have expected that academic success would require hard work (although most had said they had had no information before entry about how hard they would have to work). Although this perception did not change with experience in college, dissatisfaction with grades, or apprehensions about not being able to retain good standing, or frustration from the amount of effort required, did not appear to any extent in the students' comments.[7] One student said: "I thought that white students would get a better grade than me because I am black, but I found that at (institution) students get what they make." Another reported: "My subjects are harder than I expected. But it gives me more prestige when passing a course, especially when the smart white people fail." Recommendations for easing the adjustment of future generations of black students centered on the interpersonal elements of college life and not on tutoring or special remedial efforts, although a few students stated they would like personal access to instructors for extra help. Also noted in the group discussions was the general interpretation that a black with outstanding grades has been captured by the white establishment and is a poor recruiting prospect for active membership in the campus black brotherhood—an alarming reaction, of course, because it implies a dilemma in a joint commitment to academic excellence

[7] On the few occasions that such comments did appear, the statements were generally quite plaintive. For example, one student said: "I had a lot of hopes and plans for the future. I thought I could make my parents proud of me. I thought if you wanted anything bad enough you could get it. Now I don't think so."

and to a black student movement.

A few of the respondents felt some instructors were prejudiced or "patronizing," and a few reacted with admiration. For example, one student said: "Most teachers are very dedicated. They really put all of their experiences into the job. They are really trying to prepare students for the future." More frequently expressed, however, were reactions to the unexpected mediocrity of some of the teachers. One student said: "This college should hire people who are really teachers, and not just those who have degrees." Another said in this context: "I was not aware that the 'follow-the-leader' aspect was so important for white people." A number of students simply used such adjectives as "incompetent."

The students were unanimous in stating that more black courses and black faculty were needed. However, there seemed to be little optimism that sweeping changes would or could occur. This had to do at least as much with the intrinsic structure of the white university as with supply and demand factors. For example, on the matter of supplementing the one or two black instructors on most of the campuses with additional black instructors, the black students—particularly the upperclassmen—seemed to feel that the college could only be a white institution. One student noted that in a hard-won course covering work of black poets, the black students dominated the discussions, yet the white students at written exam time got the good grades. Also noted was the opinion that the occasional black faculty member must choose either to become part of the establishment or to become part of the black student subculture, losing his utility as their black spokesman either way. The answer, then, was "more black instructors, of course." But the students' outlook for needed changes was bleak, even if more black faculty members were obtained.

The black upperclassmen in particular seemed to perceive the college administrators as epitomizing white establishment attitudes and therefore as natural enemies. One student noted that his university's president, whom faculty and other administrators in the state regard as most liberal and as being creatively and honestly dedicated to all students, was an impossible and prejudiced opponent. He had been asked by the black student group to designate a place and to provide $3,000 to decorate that place for black students. "You know the president runs the college, but he hedged with all this (nonsense) about budget and trustees. . . . We hit the white businessmen in town and had our $3,000 in two days, and then we made him give us a room in the student union by sitting in his office until he did." Such instances could be interpreted as selfish requests for special consideration by immature militants who use improper means to get what they want; or as evidence of a reasonable student naiveté about the total responsibilities of an administrator and the ways in which budgetary and other decisions must be made in a university setting; or as the black students who were involved interpreted it. More significant observations may be that as the polarization of black students progresses, the tasks of responsible university officials become more difficult; and that as particular needs are felt more acutely by members of a particular subculture, the more that subculture solidifies and seeks other means for achieving redress.

Earlier and more biased interpretations of the black students in relation to

administrators were held by one of the white project staff members until he had a long discussion with an aggressively militant black student leader with whom he seemed to have achieved special rapport. This student documented at great length the special efforts at his college to keep athletes academically eligible, and to provide special privileges that were denied to other students. Yet, he reported, the college and administrators professed publicly the primacy of the academic and humanitarian goals to which that college was committed, and their special interest in increasing and accommodating the ranks of black students on campus.

It seems from all our evidence that black students are aware that federal pressures rather than a desire to help them may have "bought" them a place in institutions of higher education; and that the university in America has actual practices that run counter to cherished philosophies. These cannot be hidden from students who feel discriminated against.

The data from interviews and discussions with black students show that they had not recognized any particular efforts by the faculty to provide programming specifically designed to meet their needs. Nor did they credit white students with helping to ease their problems. The black students may actually have been unaware of much that was happening or perhaps they felt it was inappropriate to discuss certain of their perceptions. Putting aside for the moment what really exists, it seems likely that the black students' growing general dislike and distrust of white people contributed to their inability to be positive about white students or faculty. When asked how their attitudes had changed, more than one-third of the students interviewed stated that they had become more distrustful of and hostile toward whites. In addition, they seemed to be developing independence as a group, seeking help or fellowship among other black students exclusively, and directing their energies toward helping each other to adapt to the rigorous social and academic demands of the college environment.

Among the four-year college students there were many exceptions to the findings. Some of these occurred in institutions that as yet have few black students and that are more oriented toward the local community than to the state or the nation. But exceptions seemed more frequently to be rooted in personal differences than in institutional ones. One black student noted: "Prejudice and subtle segregation have forced a black subculture on campus which is not good for blacks or anyone." Another said he had learned to socialize with whites more: "I have found there are some good white people living." Still another said: "I see the southern white college in a different light—there are some friendly people here." Yet, the total interview records suggest that in at least some cases these were highly acquiescent individuals, or those who were working very hard, achieving outstanding grades, but having only limited social relationships with any of the other students.

Further studies should be undertaken of black students in four-year colleges and universities. These should consider in greater depth the problems uncovered in the present study as well as others only intimated—for example, factors relating to differences in reactions to the white college, the difficulties the black student may experience with his black peers if he deserts them for other personal endeav-

ors, and the question of what becomes of the brilliant and effective black student-movement leader—the type frequently so eloquent and forceful in the group discussions held by project staff.

After Experience at the Two-Year Institution

The experiences of the students from the (four) two-year public institutions were striking exceptions in almost every respect. Their representatives sat almost open-mouthed as the four-year college representatives talked. One, from an institution that has a student body about 8 percent black, stated that before he sat in on the discussions he had never thought of his two-year college as being predominantly white. This was a common feeling among most of the students from the community colleges. The community and non-residential nature of these institutions is apparently a critical factor in the creation of this student attitude. Because community college students never really leave home, they retain their sense of "community." Heterosexual social activity is not a problem nor is it an expected "college resource." These institutions also more frequently accommodate vocationally oriented students whose aspirations are less complex and more easily met by the educational program. Furthermore, the lack of marked discrepancies in test or past performance levels between white and black enrollees may be significant.

Confronted with such speculations, however, some of the black representatives of the senior colleges and universities could not agree. Instead, they tended to attribute the attitudes of the representatives from the two-year colleges to the continued absence of black student leadership within the institutions. "Sooner or later," one student predicted, "a leader will rise up among them, and then you'll see what we've been telling you."

A decade or more ago, one popular theory regarding the source of prejudice by whites against blacks held that whites who competed for the same jobs were more apt to be prejudiced. In view of this, the absence of strife in the open-door community colleges and the degree of affiliation by the black students with these institutions seem all the more remarkable. These institutions are more likely than the universities to attract sons and daughters of working-class white families who are preparing for trades as well as professions where they will more frequently be in direct competition with blacks.

If the interpretation given herein is correct, the finding of a kind of institution where some degree of *integration,* as opposed to *desegregation,* appears to be occurring will be comforting to those who are concerned with a new social order dedicated to equality of opportunity. It, likewise, openly invites more extensive investigation. This optimistic note should not, however, overshadow the fact that blacks in both two-year and four-year institutions—those who will provide intellectual future leadership for the nation—are so few. Coupled with the fact that the experiences of those in senior institutions take on the characteristics noted previously, the implication is compelling that there is much research, development, and innovation ahead if national interests and the real needs of all our citizenry are to be served.

Some Concluding Comments

Both white and black project staff entered into the project with the expectation that a number of findings would emerge that could be useful in pointing up ways to attract more black students to higher education, and to ease their subsequent adjustment to life in traditionally white institutions. The possibility was recognized that a research project of this sort can become the vehicle for presenting preconceived views and demands for "party-line" solutions. Considerable effort was made to reduce this possibility and to indicate to all participants the sincere concern of the several organizations involved (the Board of Higher Education, the College Entrance Examination Board, and Educational Testing Service). We believe that the information exchanged by black students, among themselves and with professionals who were primarily black, yielded direct, open, and unfettered expressions of student opinion (an attempt was made to maintain low organizational profiles throughout). An unmistakable integrity of feeling and conviction was apparent.

Two initial hypotheses were:

(1) The problem of desegregating higher education must be viewed, at least in part, as a matter of broadening perceptions and vistas of higher educational opportunity; of improving access for minority students; and of changing those subtle but real social and personal forces that inhibit students of cultural minorities from applying to institutions that traditionally have not served them.

(2) The problem of integrating higher education must be viewed as a matter of the effective accommodation of all students through the creation and provision of learning environments that are conducive to honest growth and development.

These two initial postulates are indeed confirmed by the very preliminary data obtained in this inquiry. On the other hand, the way to equal access and to wholesome and effective educational environment and treatment regardless of race seems more obscure. In short, the writers and their colleagues could not avoid, as the project progressed, less optimism or more apprehension than they had held at the beginning of the study.

As noted previously, this study was conducted in 1969-70, at the peak of the movement toward black consciousness and black identity. To be a black student in a white college at that time was not only an unusual experience in itself but it also offered that student an opportunity to represent black people to the white college community and to share in the broader black movement. The extent to which involvement in the broader movement conflicted with the students' presence on a traditionally white campus may account for some of the apprehensions that existed among them. The study should soon be repeated.

From another point of view it can be argued that many of the concerns the black students expressed are reflections of concerns that would be expressed by any

student in the traditional campus environment. In another interpretation, however, it may be that the very fabric of the essentially white society—specifically as manifested on the traditionally white campus—frequently continues to consist of a gigantic net that traps and frustrates those blacks who venture in. Certainly the results of this study show—and the student participants would agree with this finding—that it is not enough to increase recruiting efforts and financial aid to facilitate entry to institutions of higher education. Some additional and substantial forms of facilitation and accommodation must be achieved if the law of the land is to be given more than a simple nod and if equal opportunity for higher education is to exist for a new generation of North Carolina's young black people.

APPENDIX A

Members of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education Technical Advisory Committee on Study of College Admissions Policy and Practice

JOSEPH BATTLE
Department of Mathematics
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

RICHARD CASHWELL
Director of Admissions
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

ROBERT USSERY
Director of Institutional Research
East Carolina University
Greenville, North Carolina

CLARENCE H. GILSTRAP
Assistant Professor of Education
and Director of Admissions
Appalachian State University
Boone, North Carolina

WILLIAM H. MCENIRY
Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs
University of North Carolina
Charlotte, North Carolina

EDWARD A. NELSEN
Director of Research
North Carolina Central University
Durham, North Carolina

GLORIA SCOTT
Director, Institutional Studies
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical
State University
Greensboro, North Carolina

DARWIN T. TURNER
Dean, Graduate School
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical
State University
Greensboro, North Carolina

FRANK WEAVER
Assistant Educational Director
Adult Education Program
Department of Community Colleges
North Carolina Board of Education
Raleigh, North Carolina

CLIFF W. WING JR.
Associate Professor of Psychology
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

APPENDIX B

Members of Student Advisory Committee and Interview Development Team, Consultants, Staff

Meeting: *March 19, 1970 2:00 p.m.*

EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE
Southeastern Office
Mutual Plaza
Durham, North Carolina 27701

RICHARD EPPS, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, *Journalism,*
Freshman from Wilmington

ADRENEE GLOVER, Duke University, *Psychology,*
Junior from Columbia, South Carolina

IKE HILL, Catawba College, *Physical Education,*
Senior from Winston-Salem

GERALD MCCOY, Wake Forest University, *Mathematics and Spanish,*
Sophomore from Fayetteville

ERIC MOORE, North Carolina State University, *Speech-Communication,*
Senior from Durham

FRANKLIN ROBERTS, Wake Forest University, *Biology,*
Sophomore from Spindale

CHARLES TOWNSEND, Durham Technical Institute, *Business Administration,*
Senior from Durham

Consultants:

TOM NELSON, College Entrance Examination Board,
Atlanta, Georgia

JIM COLEMAN, North Carolina Central University,
Durham, North Carolina

ETS Staff:

J. A. DAVIS, *Director*
ANNE BORDERS-PATTERSON

APPENDIX C

Participating Institutions

Public Universities:

North Carolina State University
University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill)
University of North Carolina (Greensboro)
East Carolina University

Private Senior Institutions:

Duke University
Gardner-Webb College
Guilford College
Wake Forest University
Catawba College

Community Colleges:

Central Piedmont Community College
Wayne Community College

Technical Institutes:

Fayetteville Technical Institute
W. W. Holding Technical Institute

APPENDIX D

Instructions for Interviewers and Interview Guide

▪ INSTRUCTIONS FOR INTERVIEWERS

1. Selecting Black Freshmen for Interviewing:

Twenty black freshmen should be interviewed, unless there are fewer than that number on your campus (in which case, you should try to interview all black freshmen). When there are more than 20, the ideal procedure would be to select a "random sample." This can be done by getting the names of *all* black freshmen, writing these names on separate cards, then drawing 20 from a hat. Your faculty adviser for this project ( ) may be able to help you with this.

If you are not able to identify a truly random sample of black freshmen, then you should try to get as wide a range of black freshmen as you can – that is, male and female, students of different ideologies and degree of success in school, etc. Avoid selecting only your friends, only people who agree with you, only people who represent only one of the points of view on campus.

2. Conditions for the Interview:

You should try to find a time and place where you and the student to be interviewed will have freedom to talk privately, and where there is little chance that there would be distractions or interruptions. You should keep in mind, however, that you present a better impression if you go to the student, rather than if you summon him to a particular location.

3. Gaining Assent for the Interview:

Other materials provided with the interview forms give detailed information about approaching the student and getting his agreement to proceed with the interview. It is possible, of course, that some of the students may be suspicious, or have time difficulties, or prefer simply not to get involved. You should try to present the task as openly, honestly, and attractively as possible; but, if the student doesn't want to proceed, let him go, and try to replace him with another freshman. Under no circumstances should there be any coercion to get participants.

4. The Use of the Interview Guide:

The format of the interview guide has been designed to permit a natural movement from one main area to another. The interviewer should try to follow it generally, though in

some cases it may be more natural to take the basic questions in a different order, to capitalize on the natural trends in what the student is saying.

You should note that the general basic questions are relatively open; that is, they give the student a wide choice of what to emphasize in his answer. This is deliberate, toward trying to get what the student considers most important before focusing his attention on some specific aspect. Use the more specific questions when the student's answer to the general question (identified by a roman numeral) has not already provided all the specific information needed. Ask the questions in words that feel natural to you and communicate the inquiry to the student; but try to avoid making questions leading (an example of a leading question would be, "Why are black students mistreated here?" when the student has said nothing to suggest already that he feels black students are mistreated).

Remember also that many students will need only a brief probe to add significantly to what they are telling you. Try to get additional answers to the general questions with such conversational quick questions as "Why do you say that?" "How come?" "Anything else?"

5. Recording the Student's Answers:

Remember that those who will write the report of the study have to rely not on what the student actually told you, but what you record of what he says. Try to write down the most important content of his answers so that another person can get a good feel for the basic questions of why the student chose your college, what he has experienced in his first year, and what he feels would improve the social, academic, and general climate of the institution for people like himself.

It is good practice to try to take notes as the interview proceeds, but you may want to soft-play this if you sense that your notetaking distracts the student, or if it makes your interviewing style awkward. In any event, immediately following each interview, and while it is still fresh in your mind, you should go back over it and add any notes that you may have overlooked in the give and take of the interview itself.

6. Practice Sessions:

In our conference at Quail Roost we did not have time to engage in the planned practice sessions. To make up for this, we ask that you do the following:

a. For no fewer than two students, and no more than three, proceed on your own with an interview. We hope that these first two or three interviews can be completed by Wednesday, April 29.

b. Mail these 2 or 3 interview forms to us in the stamped envelopes provided, *as soon as each one is completed.*

c. Call Anne Borders-Patterson in Durham collect at 682-5683 within 48 hours after you have mailed the practice interview reports to us, to review how you feel the interviews actually went, and to get any advice that may seem useful. *Do not proceed beyond the first three interviews without clearance from project staff in Durham.*

7. Reimbursement of Your Expenses and Payment for Interviews:

Travel expenses for off-campus activities will be reimbursed within the limits of ETS policy (given on the back of the travel vouchers); and, you will be paid an honorarium of $5.00 per interview completed and reported to us (this includes, of course, the practice

interviews). Checks in payment will generally be mailed to you as soon as possible after receipt here of the interview report and the travel vouchers, but you should know that our accounting process generally requires about two weeks and checks will be mailed to you directly from our Princeton office.

8. Critical Dates:

You should try to have your interviews completed by May 15. If at any point you see that you will not have time to finish the twenty interviews (or fewer, if there are not that many black freshmen on your campus), call Mrs. Patterson collect immediately, so that other arrangements can be made to complete the job.

You should also hold open the dates of May 16 and May 17 when we plan to reassemble all the interviewers and the members of the student advisory panel in Durham. We plan definitely to reconvene here on Saturday, May 16; we may, if it appears that more time will be needed, plan overnight accommodations for those who can stay over to Sunday, and continue the review Sunday morning. We will be in touch with you on this soon after we have had a chance to look over the first few interview reports.

9. Materials Provided:

With these instructions you will also find 25 interview forms and 20 stamped return envelopes for returning the reports.

10. Responsibility for Keeping Your Faculty Liaison and ETS Advised:

The faculty representative at your institution is responsible to the President for assuring that the study proceed smoothly. He will probably want to be kept generally informed as to how the study is proceeding, and you may find his advice or assistance helpful if local problems arise. He knows that you are not to report to him in a way that would identify any student with what that particular student said.

In the event of any unexpected difficulty, do not hesitate to get in touch both with him and with the ETS project staff.

▪ INTERVIEW GUIDE

Institution _____ Date Student Entered _____

SEX _____ AGE _____ RACE _____ DATE OF INTERVIEW _____ INTERVIEW # _____

I First, let's talk about how you happened to choose _____
You know, why did you come *here*, what attracted you most? _____

Throughout the interview, note the student's reactions and the essential content of his answers to the general questions. As you talk, you will probably need to probe a little to get all the information. Ask questions in your own words; and connect them to make them conversational. Also, if the student in his general response *has not provided answers to the questions below, ask them now in any order that feels comfortable. Feel free to ask "anything else?" for any question.*

1. Did you also apply to any black institution? Which one(s)? Were you accepted?

_____

2. Why did you decide not to go to one of them?

_____

3. How did your family feel about your coming to *this* institution?

_____

4. Can you recall, what were some of your expectations and concerns about this institution and the *town* before you got here?

Look for social and academic expectations: both positive and negative.

_____

_____

_____

5. Did you run into any problems in getting admitted to this place?

If student says "no," then check these possibilities with him. And write down any specifics he gives.

	Yes	No	?
a. Was your application handled efficiently?	____	____	____
b. Were you comfortable in the interview?	____	____	____
c. Did you get the scholarship information you needed?	____	____	____
d. Were you given any information about academic competition?	____	____	____

6. Here's another way of looking at why you came to this particular institution. Think back to when you were choosing a college or technical school. Which ones of these things I'll read to you were *important considerations* in choosing to come to _____? If you're not sure, tell me that, too.

Write any comments below each question. Use "?" for "I'm not sure."

	Yes	No	?
a. Get a better education in a mainly white college	____	____	____
b. College is close to home (or far from home)	____	____	____
c. Low cost of education here	____	____	____

At this point, remind student that these refer to why he came here.

d. Good scholarship or financial aid offer	____	____	____
e. Had visited campus and liked it	____	____	____
f. Had the academic or technical program I wanted	____	____	____
g. I was made to feel "wanted" by the college	____	____	____
h. Recruited by an athletic coach	____	____	____

	Yes	No	?
i. Interested in the athletic program	____	____	____
j. Better chance for good job and salary	____	____	____
k. Chance to speak more forcefully as a black	____	____	____
l. Had heard good reports from friend(s) here	____	____	____
m. Parents wanted me to come here	____	____	____
n. Others in my family have come here	____	____	____
o. Close friend also planning to come here	____	____	____
p. Was actively recruited by the college	____	____	____
q. Someone other than parent or friend recommended the institution to me	____	____	____
r. Size of the school (small or large)	____	____	____
Ask for any others			
s.	____	____	____
t.	____	____	____

II Now let's talk about your high school. What kind of preparation did you get for college? What kind of place was it?

7. Was it integrated? _____ To what extent? _____

   How far is your high school from this institution? _____

   About how many students did the high school have? _____

8. What was the relationship between white and black students? _____

   _____

   _____

9. Any teachers who were especially influential? *Who?* (not names)? *How?*

   _____

   _____

10. What about the guidance and counseling program? How was it in *general?*

    _____

    _____

11. Did high school counselor(s) help you with your college plans (decisions, planning, application, admission, etc.)? *How (or how not?)?*

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

12. Anything else about high school that was important in your planning to come here?

_____

_____

13. What is the feeling of blacks in your high school about blacks going to white colleges or technical institutes?

_____

_____

_____

III Thinking about your experiences here this first year (or few months), what are the most significant things that have happened to you (both good and discouraging)? You know, things that have occurred and your feelings about them.

14. In what ways has _____ been *different* from what you expected?

_____

_____

_____

15. What are the most important changes in yourself since coming here—your attitudes, aspirations, outlook, etc.?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. How do you feel about your course work so far?

_____

_____

17. How are your grades so far? _____

_____

18. Do you think you're being graded fairly? _____

_____

19. How hard do you feel you have worked at this school? _____

_____

20. What's been your biggest problem in your academic work? _____

_____

21. What special help, if any, have you needed? _____

_____

22. Have you gotten it? How? From whom? _____

_____

23. How do faculty in general seem to regard and act toward black students?

_____

24. What about black instructors? Have you had any? Do you relate to them? How are they? Would you like to have other black instructors?

_____

_____

25. What about black counselors? Are there any, and how do you relate to them?

_____

26. What persons on or off the campus do you go to for advice or help?

_____

27. Are you involved in any action groups or movements on or off the campus? What purposes do you see them serving?

GROUP	PURPOSES
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

28. Are you involved in any significant *off*-campus activities, like recreation, social, church groups, etc.?

_____

29. Have there been any harrassments from white students? Or other black students? What and why?

_____

_____

30. What outlets do regular school groups and social functions here offer you—or do you have to do your own thing with your own group? _____

_____

31. How do you feel about most white students here? _____

_____

32. Do you feel you're obligated, pressured, or forced to identify totally with black students or groups? If so, what happens if you don't identify totally?

_____

33. How do you feel about most black students at this institution?

_____

_____

IV What do you think at this point about this institution and its general policies?

34. How do you feel about the administration? _____

_____

35. What voice does the student here have in changing the institution, as you see it?

_____

36. Where do you believe the real source of power for change lies at this institution?

_____

37. What changes would you like to see made here?

a. Administrative policies: _____

_____

b. Practices and traditions: _____

_____

c. Courses and programs: _____

_____

d. Counseling, study aids, academic adjustment, etc.: _____

_____

e. Admission policies in particular: _____

_____

f. Faculty: _____

_____

38. What are your suggestions for bringing about some of these changes?

_____

_____

_____

_____

V What about your plans after this year?

39. What are your plans for next year?

a. _____ Will definitely return here

b. _____ Will probably return here

c. _____ Will drop out of school for good

d. _____ Will drop out of school for a time, and then _____

e. _____ Will transfer to _____

Whatever the answer, ask "why?" and record here

_____

_____

40. How far do you plan to go in school? _____

41. What would you like to be doing 10 years from now—in terms of vocation or career aspiration?

VI Thinking back about all we've talked about, what recommendations would you make to other black students thinking about coming here, or to school counselors in the high schools?

42. What advice would you give to black students considering this particular college or technical institution? _____

43. How can guidance counselors or others advising students best help?

44. Any other advice or suggestions?

1. *Thank the student for his time and advice.*
2. *Check to see that you have asked (and gotten some answer for) all the questions.*
3. *On a separate paper write his name and summer address for mailing of the report.*
4. *After the student has left, write down any further significant comments or observations, including such things as whether the student seemed to be at ease, whether he told it like it is, whether he seems to be comfortable at this institution (academically and socially).*
5. *Now go back and correct and clarify your notes, and make them readable, throughout the interview schedule.*

PLACE OF INTERVIEW_____ DATE_____ INTERVIEWER'S NAME_____